For the Real Face of Our War in Vietnam, See P. 3

The Only Way to Wage A Really Total War on Poverty in An Age of Plenty

"It is essential to recognize that the traditional line between jobs and incomes is being broken. The economy of abundance can sustain all citizens in comfort and economic security whether or not they engage in what is commonly reckoned as work. We urge, therefore, that society, through its appropriate legal and governmental institutions, undertake an unqualified commitment to provide every individual and family with an adequate income as a matter of right. This undertaking we consider to be essential to the emerging economic, social and political order in this country. We regard it as the only policy by which the quarter of the nation now dispossessed and soon-to-be dispossessed by lack of employment can be brought within the abundant society. The unqualified right to an income would take the place of the patchwork of welfare measures—from unemployment measures to relief—designed to assure that no citizen or resident of the United States actually starves."

—Manifesto on the Triple Revolution (see page 2).

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Remember This Is Our Third Attempt to End Poverty

The President's spokesmen have now completed their presenation of his poverty program to the House Labor and Education Committee. They proved an impressive team. Sargent Shriver and Secretaries Wirtz, McNamara, Freeman, Hodges and Celebrezze spoke with an idealism and a concern which attested the high quality of the Cabinet Kennedy gathered and Johnson inherited. These were big men launching a big idea. The questions put to them were largely nitpicking.

Poverty has been put squarely into the arena of practical politics. But how fruitful this proves to be will depend on the way the program is shaped in the coming months of debate upon it. This is not the first but the third time in a generation that the idea of eliminating poverty has been broached in a big way politically. The first time was early in the New Deal when the Social Security system was established. The second was during Mr. Truman's Fair Deal when the Employment Act of 1946 was passed. It is urgent to remember that the compromises made on both occasions were crippling.

A War Which Could Already Have Been Won

If Social Security had been used as a means of redistributing income, financed by taxes on wealth rather than by regressive payroll levies on worker, consumer and entrepeneur, if it had established a guaranteed minimum subsistence for every American instead of a makeshift and inadequate dole against unemployment and old age, there would be little poverty today to make war upon. The radical New Dealers saw this clearly at the time but were defeated. In the same way, the idea of economic planning for full employment, which the Employment Act of 1946 was intended to embody, was so watered down in passage as to become ineffective. If that Act were working along the lines originally conceived, the war on poverty would have been won two decades ago. So it behooves us now to examine this new program astringently, lest another historic opportunity miscarry.

The Johnson program avoids all direct attack on the problem. The program is based on the calculation that those 9.3 million families with incomes under $3,000 a year are living in poverty. Many breadwinners are not jobless but simply ill paid. One direct attack would be to extend the minimum wage to all workers and the hourly minimum to $1.50. This would make $60 a week, or $3,000 a year, the minimum wage. Another direct approach was touched on but quickly passed over by Walter Heller of the Council of Economic Advisers when he remarked to the House Committee, "Arithmetic tells us that the cost of levelling up all poor families to an annual income of $3,000 would be about $11 billion a year." Measured against the $50 billion plus we spend each year on war preparations or against the billions of oil, real estate and other profits which slip untaxed through the loopholes in our sloppy income tax system, this is no large sum. Paid out to the poor under such a minimum subsistence guarantee as is advocated in a newly released manifesto on "The Triple Revolution" (see boxes on pages one and two) this would wipe out poverty and quickly raise our faltering rate of economic growth.

Another direct attack would be by economic planning. Bernard Nossiter of the *Washington Post* in his new book, "The Mythmakers," a refreshingly iconoclastic survey of current economic realities, in one chapter provides the first account in popular form of the non-coercive planning methods

(Continued on Page Two)

Poverty Plays 2d Fiddle to Private Business

Washington—Federal planners have put together a revised prescription for curing the Appalachian Mountain area's economic and social ills . . . the lesser emphasis on welfare, a diminished Federal role and a turn away from the industrial cooperatives mentioned in the fall proposals strongly boost its chances, strategists feel. 'It's watered down, but adding water can make medicine more palatable,' comments an official of one agency . . . [Appalachian Region] Commission officials say their cause will be aided in Congress . . . by the concept of providing only enough public activity to build a framework for private business to function. . . . The initial Appalachia plan called for a corporation that would engage in over-all economic planning. . . . Now the idea is for a Commission . . . to serve largely as a coordinator. There would still be a Federal State corporation, but with quite limited functions. *—Wall Street Journal, March 19.*

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Work Camps Will Not Wipe Out The Slums Which Stunt Our Youth

(Continued from Page One)

which have maintained a high level of growth and employment in less hidebound areas of the capitalist world. Norway, France and Japan have all combined economic planning with free enterprise in pragmatic mixed systems. This is what we were supposed to do under the Full Employment bill of 1946 until Taft, in taking the word "full" out of the title, took the essence out of its spirit. The idea of planning for full employment seemed too subversively close to socialism, a subject on which all we Americans have been brainwashed. Even the advanced intellectuals, some of them old-time radicals, who helped to frame the manifesto on "The Triple Revolution" to which we call grateful attention in these pages, avoided it lest it set the alarm bells ringing. The idea of economic planning is conspicuously absent even from their blueprint.

The Key Question

The key question is whether poverty is peripheral in our society or due to inadequate demand. If it is the latter, then some form of economic planning is necessary to deal with it. The President's program is based on the assumption that poverty is peripheral because only on this basis can it be fought with minimum disturbance to our dominant business class and its sacred myths about free enterprise. It is true that the Negro, the aged, the slum youth, represent special problems. But it is well to remember that when the government sets full employment goals as it does in wartime, then these special problems are soon solved. Neither race nor sex nor age nor disability is allowed to stand in the way as businessmen scrape the bottom of the human barrel, mustering and retraining every hand they can get. If aggregate demand is kept high by government planning and direction, all these human problems become soluble.

The worst features of the Johnson program are provisions which would subsidize the land speculator and the business man to get some increase in help to the small farmer and some increase in jobs. James Roosevelt for one fleeting moment touched on the realities when he said to Secretary Wirtz that he saw no point in "lending money just for somebody to set up a business when there is no chance for that business being a success." If goals are pitched high, jobs will be created and farm surpluses absorbed by those now ill fed.

This program does not even attack the peripheral problems in adequate fashion. Shriver showed how hollow was the talk of a "total war on poverty" when he assured the Committee in true Johnsonian fashion that it "does not raise the national budget by a single dollar." Our schools and our slums are scandals. The stunted youth Shriver would help are their product. The remedy is to wipe out the causes not to skim off the human effluvia and put them into work camps.

The Signers of "The Triple Revolution"

Donald G. Agger, Dr. Donald S. Armstrong, James Boggs, Dr. Louis Fein, W. H. Ferry, Todd Gitlin, Roger Hagan, Michael Harrington, Tom Hayden, Robert L. Heilbroner, Ralph L. Helstein, Dr. F. W. Herring, Gen. H. B. Hester, Irving Howe, Everett C. Hughes, Gerald W. Johnson, Irving F. Laucks, Stewart Meacham, A. J. Muste, Gunnar Myrdal ("in broad agreement . . . though not entirely"), Gerard Piel, Bayard Rustin, Ben B. Seligman, Robert Theobald, Wm. Worthy, Alice Mary Hilton, Maxwell Geismar, Philip Green, H. Stuart Hughes, Linus Pauling and John Wm. Ward.

A Program to Meet A "Triple Revolution" in Cybernetics, Weaponry and Human Rights

"As machines take over production from men, they absorb an increasing proportion of resources while the men who are displaced become dependent on minimal and unrelated government measures—unemployment insurance, social security, welfare payments. These measures are less and less able to disguise an historic paradox: that a growing proportion of the population is subsisting on minimal incomes, often below the poverty line, at a time when sufficient productive potential is available to supply the needs of everyone in the United States. . . . The continuance of the income-through-jobs link as the only major mechanism for distributing effective demand—for granting the right to consume—now acts as the main brake on the almost unlimited capacity of a cybernated productive system. . . . The major problem is not how to increase production but how to distribute the abundance . . . . We propose:

"1. A massive program to build up our educational system . . . tens of thousands of employment opportunities . . . particularly for younger people may be thus created . . . an additional 100,000 teachers annually are needed.

"2. Massive public works . . . to construct dams, reservoirs, ports, water and air pollution facilities, community recreation facilities . . . For each $1 billion per year spent on public works 150,000 to 200,000 jobs would be created. $2 billion or more a year should be spent this way.

"3. A massive program of low-cost housing to be built both publicly and privately, and aimed at a rate of 700,000 to 1,000,000 units a year.

"4. Development and financing of rapid transit systems, urban and interurban. . . .

"5. A public power system built on the abundance of coal in distressed areas, designed for low-cost power to heavy industrial and residential sections.

"6. Rehabilitation of obsolete military bases for community and educational use.

"7. A major revision of our tax structure aimed at redistributing income . . . an expansion of the use of excess profits tax would be important. Subsidies and tax credit plans are required to ease the human suffering involved in the transition . . . from manpower to machinepower.

"8. The trade unions can play an important role . . . (a) use collective bargaining to negotiate . . . for those thrown out of work by technological change. (b) bargaining for prerequisites such as housing . . . and similar programs. (c) obtaining a voice in the investment of the unions' huge pension and welfare funds, and insisting on investment policies which have as their major criteria the social use and function of the enterprises in which the investment is made. (d) organization of the unemployed . . . and campaigns to organize white collar and professional workers.

"9. The use of the licensing power of government to regulate the speed of cybernation to minimize hardship and the use of the minimum wage power as well as taxing powers to provide the incentives for moving as rapidly as possible toward the goals indicated by this paper."

—The Triple Revolution: Drawn up by an Ad Hoc Committee led by W. H. Ferry, of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. Copies of the document may be obtained from the committee c/o Maurer, Fleisher, Zon & Associates, 1120 Connecticut Ave., Washington, D. C.

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What We Are Doing to Innocent Villagers in Vietnam and Cambodia

Ordinarily the Associated Press will sell photos like the one on this page to non-subscribers for $15. We ran into a fog of double-talk when we tried to buy this one from the AP last week. Permission was refused, though for no clear reason. We obtained a glossy print through channels of our own. We think it tells a story every decent American should heed. This is what we are doing to the innocent in South Vietnam and Cambodia. The AP, early in our negotiations, wanted to be sure that we would not change the caption under the picture. Its caption said:

INNOCENT VICTIM—A Vietnamese child, body completely covered with burns from a napalm bomb, is held by father after rescue from Vietnamese village near the Cambodian border. Child was found in a plain of reeds after Vietnamese Air Force bombers strafed a village, where Communist Viet Cong guerrillas sought to hide among innocent civilians.

The Right of Pursuit

The *New York Times,* in printing the picture, March 20 left out the reference to napalm bombs and said it was an injured Vietnamese child being comforted by its father after an air assault on a village near the Cambodian border. We suspect this was the *Cambodian* village which the Vietnamese with the aid of our "spotters" bombed on March 19. The U.S. now says this was a mistake. But our Vietnamese allies have long insisted (AP from Saigon, *Baltimore Sun,* March 21) that they should be "permitted to pursue Communist guerrillas a reasonable distance into Cambodian territory" and there, presumably, do what they do at home—burn out any village in which they suspect guerrillas may be hiding.

For this purpose, in addition to napalm, we supply "a phosphorous explosive, fired from artillery and also from fighter bombers" which "erupts in a white cloud, burning through everything it touches" (AP from Saigon, *Washington Star* March 22). "With explosives such as these," the same dispatch went on apologetically, "civilians are bound to get hurt." We hope the villagers, too, will see this as a kind of military traffic mishap. "The spectacle of children lying half alive with napalm bombs across their bodies," this AP report added, "was revolting to both Vietnamese and Americans entering a Cambodian village after it had been under air attack by government planes Thursday." That was March 19, the date of this picture. We hope you find it revolting, too.

Sen. Church: "Wars Against George Washingtons Not Easily Won"

Q. Is it your view that we are succeeding in Vietnam?

A. I'm not optimistic. If Ho Chi Minh, the leader of North Vietnam, is regarded by most Vietnamese people, North and South, as the authentic architect of independence from the French, as the George Washington of Vietnam, it will be hard. Wars against George Washingtons are not easily won.

Q. Do you think the way out in Vietnam may be to carry the war into North Vietnam, or even Red China?

A. That is certainly not the way out. As I look at the map, that is the way in. I would hope that we don't make South Vietnam a launching pad for another Korean War.

Q. Do you see merit in President DeGaulle's suggestion of a neutralist settlement in Southeast Asia?

A. If the whole of the archilepago could be neutralized, including North Vietnam, then I should think that this would be positively in the American interest, as well as in the general interest of all the people concerned.

Q. Do you think we can achieve the neutralization of South Vietnam so long as we are or appear to be losing?

A. It happened in Laos. It could happen in Vietnam.

Q. You don't agree with the official position that neutralization would mean giving Vietnam to the Communists?

A. Several neutral countries in that region are not Communist. Laos and Cambodia are examples. I thought we had gotten over regarding neutralism as anti-American.

Q. Then would you say the Geneva accords of 1962 on a neutral Laos are working?

A. It became obvious from the course of the fighting preceding that agreement that without it the whole of the country would soon have fallen under Communist control.

—*Sen. Church (D. Id), Wash. Sun. Star Mar. 15 abridged.*

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Though Death Toll 100,000 Annually, AMA Supports Tobacco Industry

Consumers Union Asks Total Ban on Radio-TV Ads for Cigarettes

The AMA is operating true to form. It sent a letter to the Federal Trade Commission urging "further research" rather than regulation of cigarette advertising. The FTC held hearings March 16-18 on its proposed regulations, which would require manufacturers to label packages with a health warning and advertisers not to contradict it.

The AMA letter arrived the day the Assistant Attorney General testified that responsible scientists had estimated the death toll from smoking at more than 100,000 annually. The Surgeon General's report didn't mention the figure, Dr. Hudley said, because it is only a rough estimate.

Press Still Burying The Story

This tobacco-tainted insistence on scientific precision has kept important information from the public since 1937, when smoking first was unequivocally condemned as a "health hazard" by a distinguished study group organized by the National Cancer and Heart Institutes. Following publication of their report, Harold Ickes accused New York newspapers of "omitting or burying evidence" against smoking. They're still doing it.

Mildred Brady, Assistant Director of Consumers Union, exposed this and similar tactics in her superb statement to the Commission. She said a 1962 report on "Smoking and News Coverage," published in the Columbia Journalism Review, concluded that while "newspapers have presented adequate coverage in the aggregate," they have left "the story so fragmented" as to create confusion. The New York *Daily News* distinguished itself in 1957 with the headline, "Cigies Assailed Again—Ho Hum." Mrs. Brady said that no major magazine has sponsored a health education campaign with regard to smoking except Consumer Reports, which accepts no advertising, and Readers' Digest, which carries no cigarette advertising. Among the networks, only CBS has featured programs on smoking—five in the last decade—and these have suffered from poor press previews and summaries influenced by advertising firms.

Mrs. Brady was the only witness who criticized the Commission's proposed regulations for being "far too permissive." She noted that only in Italy where all cigarette advertising has been banned has cigarette consumption been significantly inhibited. She proposed that advertising of cigarettes, like that of distilled liquor, be banned entirely from radio and television. She suggested that the Commission's rule 2, which pertains to advertising copy, be made as stringent as the regulations governing the advertising of new securities. This would confine copy to the brand name, the length, type and style of cigarette, the health warning, and where the brand may be obtained. "Surely, controls to prevent confusion in the advertising of a product dangerous to life," she said, "should be at least as demanding as those affecting the promotion of a sale that threatens only the pocketbook."

Another of her proposals worth promoting is the use of a state licensing system to control cigarette retailers. In many states, retailers have themselves sponsored similar proposals in their desire for a legal means to prohibit price-cutting. "Is it asking too much of the business system," she questioned, "that it support for the sake of the health of children proposals it fostered to curtail price competition?" That her testimony went unmentioned in the press is an indication of the answer.

Just Accidentally Photographing?

"Some authorities have suggested that the plane, equipped normally, would carry camera equipment and that a regular training mission would include practice photography. In this view, they might well have photographed East Germany accidentally after they strayed off course. If this were the case these [U.S.] officials said, Soviet authorities could have found the films when they inspected the wreckage of the plane. American authorities have been kept away from the wreckage. In any case, the Russians are expected eventually to produce evidence that they were on an intelligence mission."

—Henry L. Trewhitt, Bonn correspondent, in the Baltimore Sun, March 21, just before the three "strayed" U.S. fliers in that latest "routine training" incident on the East German border were released. Was this leak to prepare U.S. opinion for surprises at the trial? When will the military be ordered to stop playing dangerous games on so sensitive a border?

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